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AUTHOR Ortiz, Flora Ida
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ABSTRACT

Interviews conducted with 15 elementary school teachers and 5 principals in a southern California metropolitan district bring out the differing work orientations and incentives among teachers and administrators, and reveal how various principal-generated orientations and incentives affect teacher performance. The research shows that the work philosophies of teachers fall into two groups: those dealing with goals of education (either student achievement or nurturing of students) and those with classroom organization (emphasizing either the program or the conducting of lessons). The interviews further identify four kinds of work orientations in principals: those (1) emphasizing advocacy of teachers' work, (2) stimulating and motivating teachers, (3) directly monitoring teachers, and (4) coordinating program goals and teacher objectives. The interviews bring out common attitudes and inconsistencies in principal-teacher relations; where support of teachers is emphasized, for instance, the principal may not adequately evaluate teacher performance and thus may confuse rewards and incentives. To achieve productive results, attempts should be made to match administrators, teachers, and students with respect to work orientations and incentives. The evidence shows that in multicultural schools, cultural gaps result in increasing teacher emphasis on simply maintaining program goals and nurturing rather than on achievement orientation; principal work-orientations may thus exacerbate the cultural gap. (JW)

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WORK-ORIENTATIONS AND INCENTIVE SYSTEMS AND THEIR EFFECT IN THE DELIVERY OF EDUCATION IN A MULTI-CULTURAL INSTITUTION

Flora Ida Ortiz

University of California, Riverside

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Work-Orientations and Incentive Systems and Their Effect

In the Delivery of Education in a Multi-Cultural Institution

One of the most recent changes occurring in many schools across the country is the dramatic change in the ethnic composition of classrooms and schools. In Southern California, for example, school districts have undergone changes in which minority children outnumber the majority. This has created school districts, schools and classrooms which are multi-cultural in composition. That is, classrooms may consist of Asian-American, Mexican-American , Black and a few white students. This means, then, that the fundamental changes which have occurred in these sites are related to the composition of the student body without a comparable change in the composition among school personnel.

The issue, then, is how does the school personnel adjust to these changing conditions? This report attempts to show how teachers' and principals' work-orientations serve to determine the types of services they provide their children. Moreover, incentive systems consistent with these work-orientations serve to determine the tasks in which teachers and administrators engage and the manner by which they carry these tasks.

In regard to the students' placement the varying work orientations and incentive systems which teachers and principals bring to their work becomes critical. Students in multi-cultural institutions face both academic and social skills differentiation. The school personnel is faced with creating a purposeful and safe environment for all of these students. Because of the varying work-orientations and incentive systems of teachers and principals,

the delivery of educational services may be differential to the diverse groups of children. The consequence may be that some children don't achieve academically or socially or both.

Theoretical Framework

Spradley and McCurdy (1972:8-9) explain that children in all societies are "taught to 'see' the world in a particular way...Through a long process of socialization children learn to organize their perceptions, concepts and behavior." Schools are organizations in which credentialed persons (teachers and administrators) go about socializing and training children.

It is in this process of "socializing and training children" that both aspects: diverse student bodies and teachers and administrators with varying work-orientations and incentive systems interact. The nature of the educational services are, therefore, determined at this juncture.

Teachers may be organizationally work-oriented towards producing achievement or nurturing children. They may be school work-oriented toward keeping school or teaching lessons. These orientations lead to socializing and training practices which emphasize two of the four orientations. That is, teachers may be producing achievement and keeping school work-oriented, producing achievement, teaching lessons work-oriented, nurturing children, teaching lessons work-oriented or nurturing children, keeping schools work-oriented.

Principals, likewise, may be organizationally work-oriented toward producing achievement or nurturing children and school work-oriented toward keeping school or teaching lessons. As they actualize their roles, they enhance or hamper their teachers' work-orientation efforts (Mitchell, Ortiz, Mitchell, 1982). This effect is produced by the administrators' focus on programmatic or personnel matters. Also, they, likewise may view students

as individuals to be initially taught or to be diagnosed. These strategies contribute to varying services delivered. The quality of services is determined by the degree to which teachers and principals differ in their work-orientations and incentive systems and the heterogeneity of the students.

Methodology

Selective data for this report are part of a larger study conducted in a Southern California metropolitan school district. Fifteen elementary school teachers and five principals were the primary focus. The study was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Education, "Controlling the Impact of Rewards and Incentives on Teacher Task Performance."

Data were collected by classroom and non-classroom observation. Principals were interviewed at least once and teachers twice during the school year. Relevant documents and written materials were also collected and compiled.

The data were analyzed during the collection process. The original focus was on teachers' task performance and those rewards and incentives which affect it. The first analytical concept which emerged was that of work-orientations. Principals' data were, then, sought to establish a relationship between teachers' and administrators' work-orientations. This was followed by identifying the interaction between work-orientations and incentive systems. The observational data revealed differences in classroom practices, school emphases, and leadership styles which were connected to both work-orientations and incentive systems. The interview data revealed differences in attitudes about children, school work and administrative preferences.

The present report is an attempt to link the administrators' and teachers' work-orientations and incentive systems to the delivery of educational services in multi-cultural settings, in this case schools and classrooms.

Analysis

Teachers' Work-orientations and Incentive Systems

Teachers are organizationally work-oriented towards the production of achievement or the nurture of children. This orientation is conditioned by how they decide whether their work is contributing to the basic purposes of the school. For example, this work-orientation towards the production of achievement is revealed in the statement below.

> The most important consideration is probably getting up to grade level. Covering the material, not just covering it, but teaching it, really teaching it. I think it's always been. Maybe, that's why I have always been considered a fairly good teacher, because I refuse to accept the fact that just because a child was placed in a turkey reading group, that the child can't learn more.

In contrast, the work-orientation towards nurturing children is reflected in the following statement.

> The most important consideration in what I teach is what I am giving them. I want to be sure they are comfortable in school. I want them to be happy coming here. At this particular stage, you know, in kindergarten if they get a lot of heavy academics it does not make that much difference because what they need to know is that school is a nice place to come to. A place where you can learn, but also a place that will welcome and make you feel it's not drudgery. I do want them all to learn too. I want them to get their math skills so we spend time on it, but I don't want any pressured situations for them at this stage. They don't need that. They have a lot of time to grow up and be pressured.

The work-orientation of the achievement producers is best expressed in three beliefs concerning the school's basic mission. First, they all feel strongly that teachers, not students, are responsible for initiating the learning process. Second, they all believe that schooling is serious work, work which even at its best is not always fun for either students or their teachers. Third, they all believe that teaching work is primarily instructional, rather than evocative or educative in character.

In contrast, those teachers who are work-oriented toward child nurturance express differing views. First, they believe that students bear the ultimate responsibility for initiating their own learning processes. Second, they believe that schools should appeal to the children's interest, curiosity, or sense of play. Lastly, they belive that teaching works best if learning is evoked or educed from children rather than pressed upon them.

Beyond being concerned with achievement or nurture as the ultimate goals of education, teachers also show a preference for one of two strategies for organizing their classrooms. Some teachers see the development of programs, the proper placement of children within those programs and encouraging or insisting upon student compliance with the demands of these programs as their preference. These teachers hold a "keeping school" work-orientation.

The second group of teachers focus their preferences on the structure and conduct of lessons. They believe that learning is more the result of activities, that students learn through high quality engagement in particular lesson activities and they take a special interest in stimulating and directing that engagement. These teachers hold a "teaching lessons" work-orientation.

Examples of how the differing orientations are expressed are presented below. The "school keeping" strategy held by the achievement oriented teachers is expressed in the following statement.

> The most important thing I teach is study skills, work skills, and responsibility. I think that a kid can learn. There are certain things that must be done, whether it is an enjoyable experience or not, then all other things will fall into place, whether it is reading, math, or whatever. I have personally enjoyed teaching math more than anything else. I think it is fun because I have always enjoyed math, although I have not been stupendously successful, I guess I have been above average. I love reading. I like to teach reading. But reading---there is not any instant success with reading.

Those who take nurture rather than achievement as their primary goal express this programatic issue somewhat differently. One teacher says,

> I think that if we had K-1 classes where children were put in a 1 to 10 ratio and then evolved---either tested, taught or screened ---so that by the time they got to third grade they could test into the third grade. Then there would not be the---they would still vary in their abilities and speed of learning, so you would still have plenty of groups, but the point is, it would give them some feeling of "I've reached a landmark in my school. I've made third grade." And then there would be better respect for the system.

The lesson teaching person contrasts sharply with the school keeping one. For example, one of the teachers says,

> I love learning and I really get interested in, and turned on, to the things that I am doing in class. I expand on it. I discover new things, right along with the kids.

Among the child nurturers, a teaching lessons rather than a keeping school focus is well stated by another teacher.

> When I decide what to teach--first of all, I take into consideration the children and what level they are, which seems to be different every year. Then I usually try to determine a form of presentation and introduction -- something to make the lesson or whatever exciting, something the children will be interested in and that also depends on the group. I do something a different way each year, depending on the type of child and what their interests are. We set this up, and then if I need extra material I go see where we can get that, whether it is audio visual, or I have to go buy something.

The work-orientations of teachers have just been presented. Four different types of teachers have been identified which may be expected to teach in classrooms. Each of these types is expected to have an impact on the conduct of their work in their classroom. We will now examine the work-orientations and incentive systems of school administrators, principals.

Administrators' Work-orientations and Incentive Systems

The overall work-orientations of the principals are shaped by the ways in which they 1) typify teaching work behavior and 2) define the overall mission

or purposes of schooling. These work-orientations are actualized in several ways. Some principals concentrate on the level of Effort teachers put into their work while others focus more on the character and quality of their teaching task Performance. Those principals focusing on effort tend to feel that teachers themselves know best what and how to teach, and that the job of the principal is largely to stimulate, motivate, and support them. This orientation toward teaching work assumes that improved teaching depends on the development of a more fully dedicated staff which will give their utmost effort to the task.

Principals who focus on the character and adequacy of teachers' task performance feel that teaching can be improved by prescribing more precisely the tasks to be performed and the techniques to be used by teachers. Principals who hold this view emphasize the importance of taking steps to insure appropriate techniques are utilized in the classrooms.

Principals may also be generally work-oriented to the mission of schooling by concentrating either on the adequacy and efficiency of it organization or by concentrating either on the execution of its various program elements. Those principals who concentrate on program organization tend to feel that educational quality depends on whether tasks are properly defined and assigned to various members of the staff and on whether the work efforts of various staff members are fully integrated and adequately supported. Those who concentrate on program execution tend to feel that educational outcomes depend more on the care and diligence with which relatively autonomous teachers discharge their responsibilities.

We, therefore, have four different types of principals. First, there are those who are concerned with 1) encouraging teachers to be diligent and dedicated

and 2) planning and organizing program elements. These principals actualize these concerns by supporting both the activities of their teachers and the program of the school district. They believe that teachers are professionals who need to be provided encouragement and adequate support services, but they are the best able to define and execute their teaching responsibilities.

To illustrate, one of the principals says,

> I think I can manage any school. And I think probably do it better than most. I think that probably I am better informed about the total district than almost anybody else. I have been able to bring some coordination and continuity between elementary and secondary [programs]. But it's a real killer. I don't have time to talk with my teachers informally right after school and that kind of stuff. If you just take my calendar and look at the time that is fixed by meetings--it's tough.

The second group of principals see teaching as dependent upon dedication and intensity of effort while at the same time see schooling as a matter of individual excellence rather than collective organization. These principals go about their work by stimulating and motivating teachers. They try to inspire teachers with a vision of the purposes of education and possibilities of children. To them, teaching is an art requiring spontaneity, dedication, and sensitivity rather than elaborate technical organization or training.

One principal explains his view.

> They [the teachers] appear to be very comfortable working under me. I guess they would say. They have a very, very relaxed feeling, so I guess this is what a teacher really looks for, to work under a relaxed atmosphere.

The most characteristic statement regarding his view of administration is the following:

> You can feel it from the atmosphere at the school. You can feel it in different ways. You know you are being successful if there is discipline. You know you are being successful if there is a fair amount of parent participation, and you know you are being successful if your scores on students are on the move, or improving.

> You know you are being successful if these things are happening. The teachers tell you, teachers keep you posted if it's going good or not.

The third group of principals try to combine an organizational view of school programs with a level of effort concern regarding teacher performance. These principals focus on controlling and directing teacher work efforts by both 1) giving immediate guidance in the tasks to be performed and 2) insisting that the planning and organization of these tasks is the prerogative and responsibility of school executives. These principals tend to display relatively little trust in the motives and competence of teachers, and to believe that schools cannot function without strong and direct intervention by them.

One of these principals says,

> Being a principal means that you've gotta be the mommy most of the time -- or the daddy. You've gotta be a know-it-all, you've gotta have the answer to everybody's problem, including teachers and anybody who comes through here. Most of the teachers are just like children, they tattle on each other.

In more specific terms she says of one teacher,

> If I let her, she will teach to the absolute minumum. So, I have to know what she is planning to do. What kind of order they will be working on to obtain their goals. Some people seem to jump around from here to there and the learning process gets all mixed up.

Ofanother she says,

> Mrs. _____is sure to need help. She doesn't understand at all. She needs help just to stoop. We are going to have to hold her hand and baby her through because she is going to have to do it.

The fourth group of principals see schooling as dependent upon organization while teaching quality is a matter of technical performance. These principals concentrate on the execution of programs and the task performance of teachers. They believe that quality education depends upon having a highly trained staff whose efforts are carefully coordinated and integrated into

specific program goals.

The following statement illustrates how this type of principal runs his school. He says,

> In this particular school it is through planning and through organization. In terms of delivering actual role modeling of instruction, I do very little of that. I guess I think that the principalship has changed, that you are more of a manager in terms of personnel. In terms of operation and instruction that is why we are here. But the demands that are on my time frequently leave little opportunity to be actually involved in modeling of instruction.

Administrator Work-orientations and Delivery of Services

Administrators most directly deliver educational services through teachers. We have seen how four types of principals differ in their work in orientations. We will now examine how those work-orientations determine the way they deliver services.

The principals who are concerned with encouraging teachers to be diligent and dedicated and those planning and organizing program elements have two major discontinuites as they carry on their principalship duties. Both are related directly to their relationships with teachers. These principals have to have means with which to influence the adoption of various instructional goals and techniques. Associated with this is the issue of creating trust and respect with the individual teacher.

The way in which these discontinuities are actualized is now presented. Because these principals obtain their motivation and support for the adoption of various instructional goals and techniques through their association with the district central office officials, these principals find themselves spending much time at the central office. This behavior is viewed by teachers with suspicion. This suspicion is subsequently reflected in the principal's

inability to develop a feeling of trust, confidence and respect from teachers. The data show how a principal's behavior is actualized.

> She [the principal] indicated that it was time for her to go and visit classes, so we left her office and started toward the classrooms. "I'm not here a lot, so I like to go through the classes so the kids get to see me. It also lowers teachers' anxiety when you go in to do teacher evaluations."

After visiting several classrooms, the observer notes:

> None of the classroom visits were very long. They were just as long as necessary to establish that things were OK (or not).

The result of this behavior is that principals, even though concerned with the quality of instruction, lacks time to effectively observe teachers in order to be able to provide useful instructional support. Also, the principal does not possess an instructional theory which allows for general evaluation of teachers. For example, a principal states:

> As a principal I should be able to go into the classroom and see if the teacher is teaching a lesson--whether she's using the elements of good lesson design or not. But we haven't really developed a standardized format for doing it. I worked with the associate superintendent and came up with different elements that I want to include in all of my evaluations.

Knowing this, these administrators, then, engage in "stroking" the alienated staff, or those whose confidence and trust in the principal is incomplete. The data indicate that some of the common behaviors of these principals are: 1) writing inter-office memoranda to compliment those with whom she is pleased, 2) she stops by the teachers' lounge to socialize, and 3) talks over the feelings and attitudes of various staff members with the assistant principal in order to find better ways to establish adequate relationships with them. The following remarks made by a principal serve to illustrate this aspect of developing a form of delivering educational services.

> I think maybe part of it is developing some trust. A lot of

> teachers here had no more confidence in me than a hole in the wall. I think some teachers have begun to feel some element of confidence, or trust, or security, or whatever you want to call it, so far as my work is concerned and how I will respond to things and back her up.

Such a strategy as the one just described illustrates how these principals don't understand the difference between incentive and reward systems. This principal engages in particular acts believing that "stroking" teachers will increase trust and confidence. What occurs, however, is that these rewards are rather weak when compared with those controlled by the students (i.e., student achievement and student warmth and cooperation). She also does not view her efforts as seen as manipulative. She does not appear to recognize that teachers are guided more by incentives embedded in the overall culture of the school than by those rooted in personal relationships with individual managers or other co-workers. The mistaken hopes to offset frequent criticisms of school programs and teacher performances through the development of warm personal relationships of trust and understanding with individual teachers are doomed. This strategy does not work because the teachers inevitably sense the principal's respect for skilled teaching but dealing directly with teachers on a personal basis fractures the relationship which is to be grounded on competence and dedication to effective task performance.

We have seen how a principal whose concerns are with planning and organizing programs to provide for diligent teachers has certain dysfunctional consequences. The principal cannot enforce standards due to her absence from the school. The principal cannot command respect, trust and confidence due to the amount of time spent at the central office with other administrators and away from teachers, whose cooperation is needed. Furthermore, stroking acts are seen as manipulative which in the end results in an increased loss of confidence. These relationships

have a direct effect on the influence upon teachers on instructional matters.

How do these principals view students? First, they realize students should perform well academically. Second, they also have firm beliefs regarding the skills students should possess. Also, these principals express these concerns in terms of the successful and non-successful students. For example a principal describes how the school is doing on proficiency testing in the following way.

> Our students are doing rotten, really rotten on the proficiencies. But one of the things is that we have been very successful in sending kids to other schools for desegregation and integration and most of the kids that we have not convinced, either the kids or the parents, to transfer out, are the ones that we can't get to go on to the testing for special education, they are the ones that we have been having a heck of a time getting the parents to come in for a conference, they are the ones that sometimes mother is not at home, sometimes she's in Vegas, and all that kind of stuff. So, what we really have left is a whole bunch of screwy kids. And the kids who have not been able to make it anyway, and all the kids that we thought would benefit, and be able to go on to better things, and we have been able to convince the parents, are the ones where the parents really cared about the kid and wanted something better for him. And with a couple of exceptions, what you have got left are the drags of the school. When all you have got left are the bottom third, your scores are not going to be really good. Now, next year our proficiencies scores and our CTBS will be fantastic, because we are going to have a fifth grade vanguard class.

> The vanguards are basically the mentally gifted. Actually they have some other qualifications. GATE, which is gifted and talented education is a broader scope not what the old MGM used to be. MGM was just 133 or better on the IQ test. Vanguard is for either high achieving or gifted. And GATE then of course goes into something about leadership and other talents and what not. And vanguard is basically if you are two years above grade level on your CTBS scores or if your IQ is 133 or better. Basically, your vanguard classes are Anglo. If mother and father both work, the most common profession for the women would be teachers. Most of the fathers are doctors, lawyers, accountants, general manager for Sears, that kind of stuff. The same kind of group we have for our academic kindergarten. Because they tend to be the ones who are a little brighter themselves and have done better financially, and so their social economic status is higher, and it's just kind of the normal little wheel. If you grew up in a poor family where you speak sub-standard English and you have had no benefits as far as culture and what not, it's tough to catch up. Most of your van-

> guard kids tend to be higher social economic level. Now, as far as this school's neighborhood itself, I don't think it is any further down the line than we are one way or the other. Other schools tend to be lower. They are in worst shape than we are. More of their houses have been boarded up, more of their neighborhood really looks pretty good. People are taking care of their things and mowing the lawns and if they have repairs, they make them and that kind of stuff. They really are showing some interest in their homes and keeping things up.

The view that emerges from these data is that the concern with planning and organizing programs for diligent teachers is focused on the relationship with teachers oradults, while students are more fundamentally viewed as able or not able. In this way this perspective is more closely aligned to those teachers whose work-orientation is to keep school and nurture children. This work-orientation is not particularly useful for the multi-cultural student body where most of the students would be perceived as not able.

The second group of principals who see teaching as dependent upon dedication and intensity of effort while at the same time see schooling as a matter of individual excellence rather than collective organization go about their work stimulating and motivating teachers. They do this in several ways. First, a principal says,

> I guess the best way is to constantly reinforce the teachers. You know, a pat on their back if they are doing a good job. I think that's the best way. Then, of course, teachers are evaluated every two years, so they look forward to this evaluation--sometimes as a feat type of thing -- but then when they receive it, if this reinforecement has been going, it's a real happy feeling.

He elaborates when he says,

> This is an up and coming school where there are a lot of positive signs of academic achievement. This leads to a sense of enthusiasm by the staff. There is a high level of team spirit here. I think that my attitudes affect the staff very positively. I let the staff take care of instruction the way they want, this is what works out best for the program.

He describes his style in the following manner,

> In my particular style I am in and out of all of the classrooms so I know what's going on and, from that sense, I can make a lot of referrals to teachers to either put program development or individual help in -- so I'm on top of everything.

As this principal elaborates on his priorities, he explains them in the following passage.

> I'm a humanist, and under that system, it's a very happy, relaxed atmosphere -- so I'm pretty comfortable with that. I always operate on a team approach. Everyone is part of the ball team. We have too many programs in this school. I am basically a reading, writing and math type and I believe that with a strong basic program you don't need any new programs. Because we have way too many, they don't give them a chance for success. If you are meeting success at a school why change? Keep doing what you are doing if you are meeting success. You don't need new programs. Basically, my evaluation is to write up the strength of that teacher.

In summary, this principal views his relationship to teachers as one which encourages and provides a setting for them to work on their own.

We have examined this principal's relationship with teachers. As has been stated previously, the delivery of educational services are also directed toward students. Our data record how this principal interacts with students.

> He stood there to greet the kids as they came on campus. The kids were very glad to see him. Not a single child walked by without saying, "Good morning." Most of them came up to give him a hug. The kindergartners gave him the special kindergarten handshake. For the males, grades 1-6, he would give them a "high five." Later he played a clapping game with a song with four of the girls. He greeted kids everywhere and where he is the kids are.

He explains to the researcher,

> It is very helpful to be out on the grounds where the kids are because you find things out that could develop into problems between kids. A lot of problems are prevented this way.

This principal is concerned with certain atmosphere and particular attitudes towards schooling. For example, he reprimands a student in the following way.

> Now is the time to set your habits. Now there are people who depend on you and can't be proud and happy if you let people down. And, I know you wouldn't let me down on purpose. My

> boss tells me to do things and I don't want to do them, but I do them anyway because I don't want to let my boss down. Now, after our talk I can't let you do this anymore. If you don't think you can sing, then, just move your mouth. Then, everybody will be able to participate without worrying why you're not singing. I only want to help you. Talk to yourmom about this. I know you can do it and you won't let me down.
>
> The principal gave the boy the "high-five" and he left. After the boy left, the principal turned to the observer and said, "You have to leave them a way out, have to let them get out with dignity. A lot are from broken families and don't get nearly as much affection as they need."

This principal, then, professes interest in a relaxed, friendly, open and cooperative atmosphere which contrasts with his tendency to manipulate the feelings of both students and teachers by appealing to their sense of social obligation and loyalty. His physical presence is intense, his verbal and physical contact with children is expansive and friendly dialogue with teachers is quite evident. In this manner, he attempts to impose his own enthusiasm and sense of commitment on others.

He also believes that he personally must originate the good feelings which he views as the source of adequate motivation and rewards for teachers. By accepting the appearance of success as the starting point for high performance he is forced into pretense and way from the analysis of issues and problems in his school.

The third type of principal tries to combine an organizational view of school programs with a level of effort concern regarding teaching performance. The organizational view enables this principal to appreciate teachers' personal use of their free time. For example,

> [The principal] informs the secretary to tell them they certainly can get off. They have a duty free lunch and they are free to leave the school for that luncheon if they wish. The person at the other end of the phone implies that the principal of the other school will have a fit if they do this. [The principal's] response about the

> other principal's attitude towards teacher lunches is that "he's a _____anyway." She feels as though the other principal is probably making those teachers' lives miserable. She goes on to talk about the fact that those teachers have a right to a duty free, playground free lunch. It's part of the contract and he has no business trying to give them a hard time about it. It is obvious that [the principal] does not object to the idea that the teachers' lunch time is their own.

The teachers' performance effort is associated with orderly behavior and student discipline. The field notes indicate

> At 12:51 [the principal] stops in at [the teacher's] classroom. The teacher is having some problems getting the class to be orderly and attentive. [The principal] stands there for a few minutes as the teacher repeatedly tells them it is time to sit and be quiet. [The principal] booms with "I don't hear anyone paying attention to me or the teacher. She shouldn't have to tell you that every afternoon." She's referring to their sitting down and getting in order. After [the principal] speaks, the class is very quiet and attentive. We then leave.

The principal integrates the two concerns described above in her realization that the most important thing a principal has to do is work well with people, to interrelate with different types of people and to use this ability to have people work as a cohesive group.

In dealing with the students, this principal describes her relationship to them in the following statement.

> We've been working with a lot of kids lately who have been disrespectful of adults. They probably need to be counseled. There might be more than we're aware of, so be sure to let us know about any additional instances so that we can support you. We can't do anything about it if we don't know about it.

As this principal heads for the playground, the observer records,

> Various children are walking too fast for her and she tells them to slow down. She calls to two children that are running and also tells them to walk.

> In a class in which a substitute teacher is to take over, she says that she expects them to behave and does not want to have any of them sent to the office. She states that she knows they can behave and she doesn't see it necessary for them to try to give the substitute a hard time.

To a group of children about to leave the campus to attend a play performance, she says that

> if they cut up at the play she will come and get them. She does not expect them to misbehave in any way but she has her car and she'll be happy to take them from the scene.

Out in the playground, on another occasion, she

> Takes a position close to the basketball area. [The principal] states that most often it is in the area of basketball playing that a fight may arise during play. One student is apt to decide that someone else took his shot and that's where a fight can occur.
>
> She directs the students as the bell rings in the following way.
>
> "Come on, let's go." She has to speak to a half dozen people or so about moving along. She calls each of them by name. There's no "Hey you!" the children who are dawdling she knows and calls directly. The students line up and the teachers come and get them to take them back to class.

We, therefore, see this principal <u>supervising</u> the general behavior of students by handling the problems in full view of the rest of the children. This matter is personalized by referring to children by name.

Her beliefs about the process of schooling are captured in the following statement.

> All educators are faced with the problem of fighting the T.V.. While schools are being blamed for all of the evils of education, the real culprit is T.V..
>
> Every parent thinks their child is a perfect angel, until we prove otherwise. So, we sit and talk with parents and decide collectively what we're gonna do with Johnny's behavior. About 2/3 of the time you're right and about 1/3 of the time you're wrong, but you don't sit around and brood about it. You say, "Well, if that happens again I'll know what to do." We learn every day, this is how we grow. As long as we treat each other as human beings and treat our problems, a lot of the time you can deal with it much better.

This principal thinks of her job as building student self-image as well as improving general academic performance. In this manner, the principal assumes part of the responsibility for the children's shortcomings in schooling.

The inconsistencies in the practices of this type of principal are also present. This principal is a hard-headed realist with few illusions or romantic dreams and with even fewer mis-perceptions about her own intentions or those of others. The result of this preoccupation, however, is that she concentrates almost entirely on the formal projects and emergent problems of discipline as non-compliance even though she knows the school should have a "main thrust." Her work thus consists of devoting a large portion of her time working on problem children, problem teachers, and problem program components. The successful teachers, compliant children and working programs receive little attention.

In this manner, this principal reveals a strong supervisory image which does not increase trust, morale or productivity.

The fourth principal sees his work responsibilities in terms of planning and organizing programs. He says,

> In this case [my responsibilities are] through planning and through organization. Administration is concerned with the smooth operation of an organization, here, the school. In his role as administrator, the principal facilitates the use of established procedures and structures to help the organization achieve its goals. Administrators are properly concerned with <u>maintaining</u> the organization, with keeping its interrelated parts functioning smoothly, and with monitoring the orderly processes that have been established to get things accomplished.

He explains that he <u>maintains</u> the organization by developing a relationship of a certain sort with teachers. He says,

> I think that they want someone to be caring and to be sociable with them, and I don't mean necessarily socializing after hours, but be friendly, and I work at that.
>
> I think that it's a matter of, if they feel that I am approachable, if I am available, accessible to them. And I try to be that. I also try to listen and hear and be amiable. But, yet I feel that there are certain decisions that I have to make and I am sorry if not everyone agrees, but I will make those decisions.

He has adopted a few strategies in order to be successful in merging a particular relationship with teachers and a concern for the maintenance of the organization. He says,

> I guess that the thing that I feel that I have skills in is that I am a good listener and that once someone is really upset (and I had one yesterday). I listen, but I hold firm with what I have done, because I make my decisions recognizing that there might be differences of opinion on it. So, I tend to remain calm, particularly when I am working with parents, but if need be I will be firm. I try never to be abrasive.

As he elaborates on his description of dealing with personnel, he says the most distasteful part of his work is

> difficult staff, when you feel that you really work at trying to communicate and you are sapped. Some kids getting treated unfairly, and you are caught -- you try to help -- in certain situations you have got to support that teacher, but you know that if she or he had used different tactics or better judgement...

In rewarding teachers he says

> I tell them personally when I feel they have done a real good job. I try to stroke. I have had some control in terms of who goes to particular in-services and sometimes I use that, because a person has really done an excellent job and is interested in growing professionally, teachers that I feel were really working hard and needed recognition and an opportunity to grow professionally. I provide the opportunity for them to visit other schools or to go to workshops, that sort of thing. We haven't had the money to do that this year, but I have done that in the past.

It has been seen that this principal's concern for the maintenance of the organization includes the development of an elaborate interpersonal system with teachers. The intent is to neutralize personalization in order to improve the delivery of services.

This principal's relationships with the children are also important to him . The field notes record his perceptions about this.

> I know this is going to sound like an old cliche, but I feel that working with students is a very definite part of my job that's important to me as a person. I realize that it's very significant

> and important in terms of working with staff but it's important to me to be involved with kids, to be out where the action is.

For example,

> When lunch begins he can go and help get trays out in the cafeteria. The design of the cafeteria is such that it is hard for many of the smaller children to reach the trays when they are pushed through, so [the principal] stands there and keeps moving them through for the children.

There are two characteristics which condition this principal's work. First, because this principal assumes teachers are professional workers -- responsible for the organization of their own work -- he renders his own work relatively unimportant. In this sense, his capacity to effectively structure programs and secure teacher cooperation is severely limited.

Second, his concern to exert leadership in programatic ways rather than through instruction necessitates a neutralization of relationships with teachers. Associated with this he also desires a relationship with students which he is only able to nurture through his presence and disciplining. He explains this when he says that "the thing that I enjoy most [is] working with teachers that really are enjoying what they are doing. And then I enjoy the kids too."

The inconsistencies of this principal are summarized in three different aspects. The first is that even though, this principal is committed to administrative program development, he cannot secure cooperation from teachers. His assumption that teachers are professional and his limited technical programatic competence leads to a posture which does not elicit teacher enthusiasm for the program he supports.

Second, having a generalized vision of the school's goals in terms of district-wide programatic emphasis, this principal attempts to support programs imposed by the central office upon his professional crew. These aspects lead to a less-than-successful cooperation from the teachers.

Third, since this principal views personalized relationships as important, making decisions which would strain these relationships are stressful to him. The specialized teaching roles, categorical programs, and innovative curricula have increased the impersonal relationships to the detriment of the patrimonial extended-family atmospere of yesteryear. Principals cast in this new environment are hard pressed to cope.

The work-orientations and incentive systems of school administrators have been presented. Moreover, the nature of the delivery of their services has also been presented. What is clear is that those administrators with differing work-orientations and incentive systems deliver educational services differentially. It is also seen how these services are delivered at two different points. They are delivered to the teachers in personal, personnel and programatic forms and they are delivered to the students in personal, programatic, instructional and social form.

The critical aspect is to match administrators, teachers and students in regard to work-orientations and incentive systems. Whereas, certain work-orientations and incentive systems would be more successful with particular groups, attempts should be made to maximize this result.

In regards to multi-cultural settings, what is most obvious is that the changes which have resulted in classrooms composed primarily of multi-cultured children have been too rapid for most school districts to do much more than staff the schools with what is already there. Moreover, due to a general decline in school enrollment and resources, the option of recruiting new teachers is not readily available. Therefore, school districts are obligated to utilize the teachers already on their payroll to deliver educational services to different groups of children. Associated with this, is the aspect that

resources are not readily available to provide extensive in-service training to prepare teachers and administrators for these different groups.

Our data indicate that as the multi-cultural heterogeneity increases in a school, the work-orientations of teachers tend to be those directed at keeping school and nurturing children. The work-orientations of principals are those which focus on the character and quality of the teaching task performance and program organization. These characteristics may not be the most effective in "teaching [children] to see the world in a particular way" (Spradley and McCurdy, 1972:8-9). In this sense, multi-cultural classrooms would be expected to contribute to greater gaps intellectually and socially, between the groups, rather than movement towards a common classroom culture evident in common activities and attitudes in which all participants engage.

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